

# Terror and intrigue: the secret life of Glasgow's Episcopalians, 1689–1733

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## Introduction

The earliest account we have of Glasgow's Episcopalians comes from a book of lists published in 1816 in support of Glasgow Royal Infirmary. The compiler was James Cleland, the city's first superintendent of works. The Scottish Episcopalians, he tells us, "were the first religious body not connected with the Church of Scotland who regularly met for worship in Glasgow after the Revolution"; their first officiating clergyman, in 1715, was Alexander Duncan. Cleland may have gained his information (which is not altogether accurate) from the current incumbent, as he records the size of the modest stipend, and the size of the congregation.<sup>1</sup>

A generation after Cleland an account was published describing an attack on an Episcopal meeting in Glasgow in 1703.<sup>2</sup> Then, in the 1870s, Dr James Gordon assembled all the available information in his extensive history of Glasgow. Gordon concludes that:

It cannot be made out that this congregation was in existence before 1688. It seems to have been formed, from time to time, out of fragments from several congregations, or individuals scattered about in Glasgow who adhered to the Stuarts. Its first formation is not upon record .... For 15 years after the Revolution, there is an historical blank as to any non-juring or Episcopal minister being in Glasgow. Not until 1724, when Bishop Alex. Duncan was appointed to supervise the diocese or district of Glasgow, is there

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<sup>1</sup> J. Cleland, *Annals of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1816), i, 139-140, 153.

<sup>2</sup> J.P. Lawson, *History of the Scottish Episcopal Church* (Edinburgh, 1843), 196-7.

any trace of episcopal surveillance. So, for 36 years after the Revolution, Episcopacy did not exist in Glasgow.<sup>3</sup>

Gordon carries particular weight because he was also an Episcopal clergyman; more recent accounts of Glasgow's early Episcopalians tend to reiterate Gordon, painting Episcopalianism as a later and alien import. Two major problems present themselves to the independent-minded historian. The first is the absence of any congregational records for early Episcopalians in Glasgow. The second is that there is nothing to indicate that the city's pre-disestablishment Episcopal clergy continued in Glasgow after disestablishment.

In this present paper, which takes rather more notice of the laity than is perhaps usual, I would like to suggest that, when assessing Glasgow's early Episcopalian congregation, the absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. Glasgow's early Episcopalians may have had cause to be secretive at the time, and later generations cause to be economical with their history.

Whilst internal congregational records may be lacking, Glasgow's Episcopalians are mentioned in a number of contemporary documents, which provide glimpses into their existence and activity. Such sources can be assembled to provide a narrative of the congregation rather different from those provided by Cleland and Gordon.

### **Glasgow's Episcopalians in 1689**

On Sunday 17 February 1689 a congregation converged on Glasgow Cathedral for a public act of worship of the Church of Scotland, at that time Episcopalian in structure. We should perhaps consider the preoccupations of the clergy and laity as they made their way through the doors of the ancient building.

Three months earlier William of Orange had landed in England,<sup>4</sup> and James VII (II of England) fled for France on 23 December;<sup>5</sup> the

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<sup>3</sup> J. Gordon, *The History of Glasgow – Glasghu Facies* (Glasgow, 1873), 1132, 217-218.

<sup>4</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), lix, 82 (William III and II).

dynastic change given the name the Glorious Revolution. Within this larger political instability, Scotland was experiencing its own turmoil. A rumour had circulated that a Catholic force from Ireland had attacked Kirkcudbright, and was heading northwards. Although it seems the rumour was incorrect, it caused much agitation, and, on 22 December, 600 armed men met up on Douglas Moor to counter the threat. The men divided into smaller companies and dispersed.<sup>6</sup> This account continues:

These companies of armed men, to whatsoever parish they came, if the minister was at home ... they carried him out to the market place ... and there, giving him names in abundance, pulled his gown over his ears and tore it in many pieces, dislodging his family, and throwing the furniture out of his house, and threatening him with death if ever he should return to the place to preach any more.<sup>7</sup>

We are told that clergy wives who intervened were roughly treated with the club-end of muskets. Some 260 clergy in the west of Scotland were thus expelled from their parishes.<sup>8</sup> The parson of Govan, his wife and daughter were assaulted by about 45 men after dark on Christmas Day, not the only attack that day.<sup>9</sup>

It would be to Glasgow, as the principal city, the heart of the diocese, and *en route* to Scotland's capital, that dispossessed clergy were likely to head. The parson of Kilmarnock, Robert Bell, recorded

<sup>5</sup> *DNB*, xxix, 671 (James II and VII).

<sup>6</sup> Anon, "The case of the Episcopal clergy of Scotland truly represented, 1707", in *A collection of scarce and valuable tracts*, ed. W. Scott (2nd edn., London, 1814), xii, 358-359.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*; R. Keith, *An historical catalogue of the Scottish bishops* (Edinburgh, 1824), 311-371, names about 240 parishes in the diocese of Glasgow.

<sup>9</sup> A. George & J. Sage, "A brief representation of the sufferings of the regular clergy within the presbytery of Glasgow", in J. Sage, *The case of the present afflicted clergy in Scotland truly represented, &c.* (London, 1690), 38-41.

his statement there on 8 January 1689,<sup>10</sup> the Paisley clergy on 22 January.<sup>11</sup> The city must have been alive with rumour. The sense of grievance now erupted upon Glasgow itself; individual clergy were threatened and attacked, and for a month public worship in Glasgow's churches was interrupted.<sup>12</sup>

In February 1689, following a plea from the archbishop,<sup>13</sup> a declaration arrived in Glasgow from the Prince of Orange (not yet proclaimed king) for "the preservation of the peace of the kingdom and the maintenance of the free exercise of religion as it was established in October last". The city clergy and magistrates set about implementing the declaration, and decided that a service should take place at the cathedral on the following Sunday.<sup>14</sup> The following Sunday was also the first anniversary of the execution of the covenanting martyr, James Renwick.<sup>15</sup>

What happened next is described in two documents. A statement was written a few days later by James Gibson,<sup>16</sup> magistrate<sup>17</sup> and

<sup>10</sup> R. Bell, "A true account of those abuses and affronts, that were committed upon the person of Mr Robert Bell, Parson of Kilmarnock, by a party of the Presbyterians now in arms in the West of Scotland", in Sage, *Afflicted clergy*, 33-36.

<sup>11</sup> J. Fullarton & J. Taylor, "An account of the insolencies and outrages committed upon the ministers in the Presbytery of Pasley", in Sage, *Afflicted clergy*, 41-42.

<sup>12</sup> George & Sage, "Sufferings in Glasgow", and J. Gibson, "A true account of that interruption that was made of the service of God on Sunday last, being 17 February 1689, at the Cathedral of Glasgow, &c." in Sage, *Afflicted clergy*, 38-41, 50. At the time the cathedral was subdivided. There is a gap in Tron church's clergy list from 1663 to 1690, but services may have been held there also. Blackfriars church, burnt down in 1666, was not rebuilt until 1699 (H. Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, 8 vols. [Edinburgh, 1915-28], iii, 474, 398).

<sup>13</sup> D.M. Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy, 1689-2000* (Edinburgh, 2000), 111.

<sup>14</sup> Gibson, "Glasgow Cathedral", in Sage, *Afflicted clergy*, 50.

<sup>15</sup> *DNB*, xlv, 493-4, (James Renwick).

<sup>16</sup> Gibson, "Glasgow Cathedral", in Sage, *Afflicted clergy*, 50-3.

<sup>17</sup> J. Sage, *The fundamental charter of Presbytery, &c.* (London, 1695), preface p. [162].



brother of the city's Provost,<sup>18</sup> a copy of which was dispatched to the Prince in London.<sup>19</sup> Gibson's statement was robustly countered in a work attributed to Gilbert Rule, *A second vindication of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1691). Taken together the two documents provide useful information about what, a few months later, would become Glasgow's disestablished Episcopal congregation.

According to Gibson, on 17 February, a snowy day, 500 to 600 people "of the best quality in town" made their way to the cathedral;<sup>20</sup> Rule says it was only 200, with not 40 of quality.<sup>21</sup> Demonstrators blocked their path, so the magistrates ordered a way be cleared through them. The congregation, surely in some agitation, reached their seats inside the cathedral, and the service began.

The events Gibson then describes are deeply upsetting – terror and violence, with reports of one man cut in the face with a scythe, and a boy injured in the face by a shot. One episode seems particularly significant. Gibson claims (and Rule fails quite to contradict) that, having broken open the doors of the cathedral, the armed demonstrators:

Took up the names of the people of the best quality in church, and then they hurried us out by fives and sixes at several doors of the cathedral, and so exposed us to the fury of the rabble, which we had escap'd if they had permitted us to go out in a body.<sup>22</sup>

Gibson lists members of the congregation who as a result were injured or maltreated (see Table 1). This is one of the rare occasions in this study when an artisan is mentioned, and the only occasion when the names of female members of the congregation are provided. It is worth noting, therefore, that Episcopalian adherents included women and

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<sup>18</sup> *Extracts from the Records of Glasgow*, ed. J.D. Marwick (Glasgow, 1905), iii, 415.

<sup>19</sup> Sage, *Fundamental charter*, preface p. [162].

<sup>20</sup> Gibson, "Glasgow Cathedral", in Sage, *Afflicted clergy*, 50-3.

<sup>21</sup> G. Rule, *A second vindication of the Church of Scotland, being an answer to five pamphlets* (Edinburgh, 1691), 93.

<sup>22</sup> Gibson, "Glasgow Cathedral", in Sage, *Afflicted clergy*, 53.

craftsmen. Rule also provides the names of congregation members, in his case, 20 men he accuses of violence towards the demonstrators (see Table 1).<sup>23</sup> Adding these lists together provides the names of perhaps ten per cent of the congregation that day.

**Table 1: Glasgow cathedral congregation, 17 February 1689**

*James Gibson's list*<sup>24</sup>

(in Gibson's order)

The Lord Boyd<sup>26</sup>

Sir John Bell

The Laird of Barrowfield [John

Walkinshaw senior], his lady, and

brothers, James and William Walkinshaw

James Corbeit

George Graham, one of the late bailies

Dr and Mrs Wright, her mother and sisters

Mrs Anna Paterson (archbishop's daughter)

Mrs Margaret Fleiming

*Several other women and gentlewomen,  
with scores of others severely beaten and  
bruised, including a man described only  
as a carpenter*

James Gibson [bailie<sup>29</sup>]

John Gilhagie [recent bailie<sup>30</sup>]

Patrick Bell [son of Sir John Bell<sup>31</sup>]

*Gilbert Rule's list*<sup>25</sup>

(in Rule's order)

Bailie John Gibson

John Bell<sup>27</sup>

Commissar Robertson

George Robertson and his two sons

John Robertson

John Wat

\_\_\_\_\_ Inglis

Patrick Bell

James Marshel

John Coats

John Filshill

John Paterson<sup>28</sup>

\_\_\_\_\_ Horn

John Aitkin

Alexander Aitkin

James Lie's two sons

James Robertson

<sup>23</sup> Rule, *Second vindication*, 94-95.

<sup>24</sup> Gibson, "Glasgow Cathedral", in Sage, *Afflicted clergy*, 53.

<sup>25</sup> Rule, *Second vindication*, 94-95.

<sup>26</sup> William, the ninth Lord Boyd, had been created the first Earl of Kilmarnock by Charles II in 1661 (G. Robertson, *A genealogical account of the principal families in Ayrshire* [Irvine, 1823], i, 109).

<sup>27</sup> Perhaps a nephew of Sir John Bell (Rule, *Second vindication*, 31), or son (J. McUre, *The History of Glasgow* [Glasgow, 1830], 113).

<sup>28</sup> Probably a bailie (Cleland, *Annals*, i, 167).

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Sage, *Fundamental charter*, preface p. [162].

The circumstances were highly unusual, so it is probably best not to describe this too narrowly as a single-parish congregation. With the majority of Glasgow's citizens avoiding the churches (preferring Presbyterian meeting-houses, or meetings on the hills)<sup>32</sup> this particular congregation must surely be made up of the Episcopally-minded members of the city and nearby congregations, with visitors to the city. There had been disagreement about church governance for generations, so the broad composition of Glasgow's Episcopalian party was likely to be known both to its own members and to non-Episcopalians in the city.

And what of the clergy leading the service and preaching that day? Gibson mentions "a certain minister going to church, they pursued him with sticks and clubs, but he taking a house escap'd their fury",<sup>33</sup> without providing a name. We do not know how many clergy were present for the service, or the names of any of them; the preacher is identified only as "the parson".

The Episcopal clergy in Glasgow at this time were John Sage (incumbent of the East Quarter); Archibald Inglis (North Quarter); Alexander Milne (West Quarter); Alexander Kinnear, with Robert Knox and Robert Ross (South Quarter). The incumbent of the Barony kirk (the crypt of the cathedral) was Alexander George. Sage was relatively young, still in his thirties, whilst George was in his late forties, Milne and Kinnear in their fifties, and Inglis at about sixty probably the most senior.<sup>34</sup>

Two other clergymen of significance are John Paterson, made archbishop two years earlier,<sup>35</sup> and the Dean of Glasgow and incumbent of Hamilton since 1686, Dr Robert Scott.<sup>36</sup> Back in 1673, Scott (whose father had been knighted by Charles I<sup>37</sup> and Dalmahoy grandfather

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<sup>32</sup> Gibson, "Glasgow Cathedral", in Sage, *Afflicted clergy*, 52.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>34</sup> Scott, *Fasti*, iii, 451-454.

<sup>35</sup> *DNB*, xliii, 20 (John Paterson).

<sup>36</sup> Bernie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, 127.

<sup>37</sup> J. Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic history of the commoners of Great Britain and Ireland*, 4 vols. (London, 1838), iii, 171.

created a baronet by Charles II)<sup>38</sup> had been presented by Charles II to the living of the royal burgh of Inverkeithing.<sup>39</sup> The dean and archbishop were related by marriage, Scott's uncle having married Alicia Paterson, one of the archbishop's daughters.<sup>40</sup> With such connections Scott was well-placed to represent the archbishop, and was sent to London to lobby on his behalf.<sup>41</sup> Both dean and archbishop may have been away from Glasgow on 17 February.<sup>42</sup>

It seems that no subsequent attempt was made to conduct Established public worship in Glasgow after the February tumult. In May 1689 it was recorded that "the churches of Glasgow have these many moneths by past been emptie, without any preaching in them",<sup>43</sup> a statement made a few weeks after William and Mary had been declared King and Queen of Scotland.<sup>44</sup> Two months later the parliament at Edinburgh "abolished prelacy and all superiority of any office in the church in this kingdom above the presbyters".<sup>45</sup> And so, as Cleland would later describe it, "the government of the church by bishops gave way to the Presbyterian form of church government in Scotland".<sup>46</sup>

At about this time a youth called Donald McDonald (young blue-eyed Donald, in Gaelic), set off from Skye for Hungary to fight the Turks. When he learnt that King James was heading for Ireland, Donald joined him, and it seems that James knighted young Donald in Dublin. Sir Donald then sailed to Kintyre, where he encouraged the clans to support the Jacobite cause. Joining his father, Sir Donald McDonald of

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<sup>38</sup> J. Burke & J.B. Burke, *Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies* (London, 1844), 619.

<sup>39</sup> Bernie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, 127.

<sup>40</sup> Burke & Burke, *Extinct Baronetcies*, 619.

<sup>41</sup> G. Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, 4 vols. (London, 1753), iv, 43.

<sup>42</sup> *DNB*, xliii, 20 (John Paterson).

<sup>43</sup> "Churches of Glasgow, May 14, 1689. Orders of the Committee of Estates", as quoted in McUre, *History of Glasgow*, 318.

<sup>44</sup> Burnet, *History*, iv, 42; *DNB*, lix, 85 (William III and II).

<sup>45</sup> Parliament at Edinburgh, 22 July, 1689, *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland. Acta Parliamentorum Gniliemi et Mariae*, ix, 104.

<sup>46</sup> Cleland, *Annals*, i, 123.



Sleat, the clan met up with Claverhouse.<sup>47</sup> The young Sir Donald led the clan at the battle of Killiecrankie in July 1689, the events recorded in Gaelic by Iain Lom,<sup>48</sup> and in Latin by James Philip.<sup>49</sup> We will meet Sir Donald again.

It seems reasonable to assume that at disestablishment the Episcopalians at Glasgow were still numbered in hundreds, albeit a tiny minority of the city's population, which at that time was 12,000.<sup>50</sup> Many would have been old enough to remember the re-establishment of episcopacy a generation earlier, and there must have been some expectation amongst them that its abolition was no more than temporary, for in the eyes of Episcopalians the foundation on which the new law was based was mob violence.<sup>51</sup>

The following year several prominent Episcopalians in the University of Glasgow were removed from office when Principal James Fall, the Professor of Divinity (Dr James Wemyss), and a couple of regents declined to take the oath of allegiance to the new king William II (III of England), or sign the Confession of Faith and accept the Presbyterian form of government.<sup>52</sup> Another casualty was the Dean of

<sup>47</sup> C. Fforde, *A summer in Lochaber - the Jacobite rising of 1689* (Glasgow, 2002), 74, 125-7. In Gaelic accounts, Sir Donald appears as *Dòimhall Gorm Og* (Young blue-eyed Donald), or *Dòimhall a' Chogaidh* (Donald of the war).

<sup>48</sup> *Orain Iain Luim: Songs of John MacDonald, Bard of Keppoch*, ed. A. MacKenzie (Edinburgh, 1964), 184-97.

<sup>49</sup> J. Philip, *The Grameid*, ed. A. Murdoch (Edinburgh, 1888), 125.

<sup>50</sup> J. Cleland, *Enumeration of the inhabitants of the city of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1820), 3. Edinburgh was four times the size (R. Brown, *Society and economy in modern Britain 1700-1850* [London, 1991], 415), whilst in England outside London only six towns had more than 10,000 (M. Ede, *Arts and Society in England under William and Mary* [London, 1979], 10).

<sup>51</sup> Anon., "Episcopal clergy truly represented", in *Collection of scarce tracts*, ed. Scott, xii, 358-359.

<sup>52</sup> J. Coutts, *A Short Account of the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1901), 19; biographical information from the website of Glasgow University [www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography](http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography); B. Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain, 1689-1746* (London, 1980), 70.

Faculties, James Crichton, whose daughter had married a Walkinshaw.<sup>53</sup> It was Fall, a Dunbar man "of great learning, penetrating mind, and of a solid judgment",<sup>54</sup> who had presented Gibson's statement about the February tumult to the Prince of Orange.<sup>55</sup> The literary executor of his friend Archbishop Robert Leighton,<sup>56</sup> and correspondent with Gilbert Burnet, the influential Bishop of Salisbury,<sup>57</sup> Fall would leave Glasgow to become Precentor at York Minster, and later archdeacon of Cleveland.<sup>58</sup>

In 1693 the Scottish Parliament approved the Oath of Allegiance and Assurance, by which anyone in civil or ecclesiastical office was required to acknowledge William's right to the throne. This was followed two years later by legislation forbidding deprived Episcopal clergy from performing baptisms or marriages.<sup>59</sup> In a few years Episcopalians found themselves shifting from the heart of the Establishment, with prestige and political power, to an uncertain position outside the law.

If the events of February 1689 were as full of terror as Gibson suggests, it would be surprising if the subsequent actions of this generation of Glasgow's Episcopalian minority, both clergy and laity, were not influenced by them. The absence of clergy names in Gibson's statement may therefore demonstrate an early instance of a new caution.

What became of Glasgow's clergy in the years following disestablishment? Milne died in 1691, and Kinnear in 1697 in Edinburgh; Inglis went to Ireland, and George retired to Edinburgh dying there in 1703. Knox and Ross disappear from the record. The

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<sup>53</sup> Bernie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, 29.

<sup>54</sup> D. Murray, *Memories of the Old College of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1927), 36.

<sup>55</sup> Sage, *Fundamental charter* (London, 1695), preface p. [162].

<sup>56</sup> D. Irving, *Lives of Scottish Writers* (Edinburgh, 1839), ii, 149-150.

<sup>57</sup> T.E.S. Clarke, H.C. Foxcroft, C.H. Firth, *A life of Gilbert Burnet* (Cambridge, 1907), 557.

<sup>58</sup> J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (London, 1716), 319, 331, 534.

<sup>59</sup> F. Goldie, *A short history of the Episcopal Church in Scotland* (2nd edn., Edinburgh, 1976), 34-5.

young Sage opened a meeting-house in Edinburgh, was banished, and found shelter with a series of landed families. The archbishop suffered imprisonment and exile, ending his days in Edinburgh.<sup>60</sup> Dean Scott, with land not far from his earlier parish of Inverkeithing,<sup>61</sup> seems to have acted as aide to the archbishop.<sup>62</sup>

And for the next fourteen years, as far as anyone has been able to ascertain, nothing has survived to tell us about Glasgow's Episcopalians. That we start to learn something after the fourteen-year gap is largely the responsibility of Robert Wodrow, historian and minister of Eaglesham.

### **Sir John Bell's lodgings, 1703**

King James died in exile in 1701, leaving as his male heir, James Francis Edward ("the Old Pretender"). William died the following year, and James's daughter, Anne, ascended the throne.<sup>63</sup> And this is the point at which the correspondence of the young Robert Wodrow first mentions Glasgow's Episcopalians. It is a mystery how Wodrow obtained his information; there must be inaccuracies and distortions in it, and he has little time for Episcopalians or Jacobites. Nevertheless, the information he provides is illuminating.

Wodrow first mentions Glasgow's Episcopalians in a series of letters written in 1703 to the Minister of Campbeltown, Lachlan Campbell. In the first letter he comments that, "Our Jacobites are very high, and conceive great hopes from England, and the clergy are the hiest flyers of any", before reporting on correspondence between the Queen's Scottish Secretary and the archbishop of Glasgow attempting to establish official toleration for Episcopal clergy.<sup>64</sup> The assertion that

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<sup>60</sup> Bernie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, 49, 67, 76, 98, 111, 124, 126.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 127.

<sup>62</sup> *DNB*, xliii, 20 (John Paterson).

<sup>63</sup> *DNB*, xxix, 672 (James VII); xxix, 673 (James Francis Edward); lix, 94 (William III and II); ii, 206 (Anne).

<sup>64</sup> R. Wodrow, *Early Letters, 1698-1709* (Edinburgh, 1937), 250 (letter to Lachlan Campbell, 14 January 1703). Wodrow's early letters were published too late for Dr Gordon.

the Jacobites were “very high” is well illustrated in the next letter. Wodrow writes, “We had on Saturday last, Ja[nuary] 30, a preaching by Mr Jo[hn] Hay in Provost Bell’s lodgings”.<sup>65</sup> These few words provide a huge amount of information.

The date, 30 January, has great significance: it is the anniversary of the beheading in 1649 of Charles I.<sup>66</sup> By publicly marking this day, Glasgow’s Episcopalians were making a forceful declaration of their allegiance to the Stuarts and the Jacobite cause. Charles I was, of course, the grandfather of both Queen Anne and the Old Pretender, and father of James VII. Wodrow adds the wry observation that:

The sober part of mankind here are surprized at this odd step of theirs that nou they should keep the day of King Charles’ death, quhich they never kept (except in one church at Edinbr.) quhen Episcopacy was established by lau and they had all at their disposall.<sup>67</sup>

The preacher was probably John Hay of Inchnock and Gayne, incumbent of New Monklands in Lanarkshire until disestablishment,<sup>68</sup> and a distant relative of the Bells.<sup>69</sup> His sermon text was Lamentations, iv, 20.<sup>70</sup> Wodrow says:

Mr Hay ... made King Charles a martyr for Episcopacy, and to be murdered by the sectarians. He pretended to refute a sermon of Mr

<sup>65</sup> Wodrow, *Early Letters*, 254 (letter to Laehlan Campbell, February 1703). Wodrow also mentions in this letter that Bishop Burnet had been providing advice for Episcopalians by letter.

<sup>66</sup> *DNB*, xi, 120 (Charles I).

<sup>67</sup> Wodrow, *Early Letters*, 256 (letter to Laehlan Campbell, February 1703).

<sup>68</sup> Bernie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, 62.

<sup>69</sup> MeUre, *History of Glasgow*, 116.

<sup>70</sup> Lamentations, iv, 20, “The breath of our nostrils, the anointed of the Lord, was taken in their pits, of whom we said, Under his shadow we shall live among the heathen” (AV).



D[avid] B[rown]<sup>71</sup> quhich he heard the Sabbath befor, quherin Mr B. proved prelacy had noe foundation in the Scripture.<sup>72</sup>

The location of the service, the great tenement of Sir John Bell, on the junction of Saltmarket and Bridgegate, also has some significance. In October 1681, James VII, when Duke of York, had paid a visit to Glasgow. One of the speeches of welcome he received at the University had been by William Blair (one of the regents refusing the oath in 1690).<sup>73</sup> During his time in the city the duke had taken up residence in Sir John Bell's lodgings.<sup>74</sup> The Jacobite loyalty displayed by Sir John and his associates had, therefore, some basis in hospitality, and in their own assessment of James. The building's Jacobite associations would have been clear to all the city's population, whether Episcopalian or Presbyterian.

Sir John Bell had been Provost of Glasgow in 1681,<sup>75</sup> and, with Claverhouse, a member two years earlier of the royal army led by the Duke of Monmouth, James's illegitimate nephew, against the covenanters at Bothwell Bridge.<sup>76</sup> Sir John had taken part in the cathedral service in 1689, indeed, Gibson tells us that more than 100 snowballs were thrown at Sir John that day.<sup>77</sup> Robert Bell, former parson of Kilmarnock, was his Oxford-educated youngest son.<sup>78</sup> Two other sons, Colin and Patrick, with their cousin, John Bell, had, according to Rule, set sail for Dublin with supplies for the Irish rebels,<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> David Brown was the Presbyterian Minister of Glasgow's Blackfriars Church, now again in use. (Scott, *Fasti*, iii, 399).

<sup>72</sup> Wodrow, *Early Letters*, 254-255 (letter to Lachlan Campbell, February 1703).

<sup>73</sup> McUre, *History of Glasgow*, 127 and note.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 247; Cleland, *Annals*, i, 166.

<sup>76</sup> W. Harvey, *Chronicles of Saint Mungo* (Glasgow, 1843), 70.

<sup>77</sup> Gibson, "Glasgow Cathedral", in Sage, *Afflicted clergy*, 53.

<sup>78</sup> McUre, *History of Glasgow*, 113.

<sup>79</sup> Rule, *Second vindication*, 31.

where another cousin, Sir John Knox, had been Lord Mayor a few years earlier.<sup>80</sup>

Wodrow writes to Campbell that the night before the service a meeting of the Episcopal ministers had taken place, at which Mr Fullarton spoke.<sup>81</sup> John Fullarton of Greenhall, who was also a relation of the Bells,<sup>82</sup> had been incumbent of Paisley in Renfrewshire until disestablishment.<sup>83</sup> If we knew who else was present with Hay and Fullarton that night we might be able to determine the nature and *modus operandi* of the Episcopalian community. Possible candidates include Alexander Duncan (former incumbent of Kilbirnie in Ayrshire), James Donaldson (whose Episcopal ministry in Dumbarton extended from 1681 to 1722), and William Irvine (former incumbent of Kirkmichael in Carrick).<sup>84</sup> The meeting may have been a diocesan council of sorts, reporting back to the archbishop.<sup>85</sup> If not restricted to diocesan clergy, another possible delegate might be William Fisher, who, after being driven from Eastwood, became the incumbent of Aberfoyle, where he continued to minister until 1732, the last Episcopal presbyter in Scotland to retain a parish.<sup>86</sup>

Wodrow, however he obtained the information, then provides a fly-on-the-wall account of part of the meeting:

Mr Fullertoun opposed their preaching in toun or, at least, openly. He told them this was ane incensing of the pcuple and giving them ane occasion of making a riot. He advised them to goe out to Barroufeild and preach there. Houever, they would not hearken to this seasonable advice, and some think this was done *ex proposito* to get opposition made to them and thus a pretence that without a

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<sup>80</sup> McUre, *History of Glasgow*, 116.

<sup>81</sup> Wodrow, *Early Letters*, 256 (letter to Lachlan Campbell, February 1703).

<sup>82</sup> McUre, *History of Glasgow*, 113.

<sup>83</sup> Bernie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, 46.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 34, 36, 69-70.

<sup>85</sup> Wodrow, *Early Letters*, 250 (letter to Lachlan Campbell, 14 January 1703).

<sup>86</sup> Bernie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, 41.

legall tolleration by Parliament they cannot preach without danger of their lives.<sup>87</sup>

The reference to Barrowfield is illuminating. Barrowfield, an estate a short distance east of Glasgow Green, was the home of the Walkinshaws, who had attended the service in Glasgow Cathedral in 1689. Barrowfield also had Stuart associations, with a story that Mary Queen of Scots had been there after the battle of Langside.<sup>88</sup>

Wodrow expresses no surprise at the presence of Episcopalians in Glasgow, and both Hay and Fullarton were, it seems, known to him and to his out-of-town friend. If Episcopalian clergy and influential laity were both established in Glasgow, it suggests that somewhere not too far away services were being held. If Sir John Bell's lodgings represent a change of venue as part of a strategy to become more visible, then perhaps Episcopalian gatherings had previously taken place in the seclusion afforded by estates such as Barrowfield.

Proving the existence of an underground church is, of course, not easy. If the threats Glasgow's pre-disestablishment parish clergy individually received in 1689 had made them withdraw, then perhaps other clergy replaced them. Episcopal clergy may have been incorporated into sympathetic households in the area; the Walkinshaw family certainly took in Episcopal clergy.<sup>89</sup> The circumstances of Hay<sup>90</sup> and of Fullarton<sup>91</sup> are rather different; both owned land nearby, providing a degree of financial independence.

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<sup>87</sup> Wodrow, *Early Letters*, 256 (letter to Lachlan Campbell, February 1703).

<sup>88</sup> A. Smart, *Villages of Glasgow* (Edinburgh, 1997), i, 34.

<sup>89</sup> Lord Kames, whose mother was a Walkinshaw, had non-juror tutors (*DNB*, xxvii, 879); Bishop Arthur Petrie, prior to his ordination in 1760, had been private tutor to Mr Walkinshaw of Glasgow (Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, 113).

<sup>90</sup> Bernie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, 62.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 46; Stephen records that Fullarton owned property near Paisley, and also at Greenhall in Argyll (T. Stephen, *The History of the Church of Scotland* (London, 1843), iv, 162, 242).

It could well be, therefore, that, although successfully avoiding record, and although the clergy had changed, the Episcopalian congregation at Glasgow fourteen years after disestablishment was a continuation of the pre-disestablishment congregation. Their numbers may have been reduced, but with William now in his grave, and signs that toleration might be forthcoming from the new queen, Glasgow's Episcopalians had decided to become rather more assertive.

What response did the citizens of Glasgow make to the service in Sir John Bell's lodgings? Wodrow tells us that "the rable and some collegians disturbed them and broke all their windoues, till the magistrates and Principle dispersed them."<sup>92</sup> He returns to the story a few weeks later. In a fairly breathless account, he starts by referring to "the rising rabble, mobb, or quhatever else we term it" at Glasgow on 9 March, then describes the build-up of events in and around the Episcopal meetings on three successive Sundays.<sup>93</sup> This would suggest that a pattern of regular Sunday services had followed the weekday service for Charles I.

On the first Sunday a service had taken place at Sir John Bell's lodgings. The building was guarded by town officers provided by the magistrates, and the preacher was Fullarton. Afterwards a complaint was made to the Privy Council on the grounds that Fullarton was not qualified (that is, had declined to subscribe to the required Oaths), but the petition was unsuccessful.

A week later a preacher called Burgess was sent west to preach at Glasgow.<sup>94</sup> This is probably Alexander Burgess, former incumbent of Temple (Balantradoch),<sup>95</sup> a country parish not far from Roslin. Wodrow complains that Burgess was also not qualified, and describes him as immoral, although it is not clear whether this is a criticism of his religious affiliation, his politics or his behaviour. Wodrow describes the congregation as "profane persons for strife and contention ... and. I

<sup>92</sup> Wodrow, *Early Letters*, 254 (letter to Lachlan Campbell, February 1703).

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 259-260 (letter to Lachlan Campbell, 1 April 1703).

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> Bernie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, 17.



belive, ... 30 of the 40 there wer enimies to the Government and professed Jacobites". Again, the building was guarded, this time by a couple of soldiers hired by the Bells. The streets were quiet because most people were at church. However, two men spotted the soldiers hitting and chasing after some youngsters, and a brawl ensued.<sup>96</sup>

The incident caused outrage in the city, so the following Sunday thousands of people converged on the Sir John Bell's lodgings to prevent any preaching "against lau, quhich its hoped may open the eyes of the managers of affaires about Her Majesty, & make them spare any innovations contrary to the claim of right that declares prelacy ane intollerable greivance".<sup>97</sup>

Wodrow ends by explaining that "the Government have seen it fitt to passe ane indemnity and amnesty of all past, and soe this affair is at ane end".<sup>98</sup> Whilst Wodrow clearly believes that the Episcopalians brought the mob on themselves, he does not explain why a major incident should have occurred on 9 March, a Tuesday. The day before, the Privy Council had discussed "ane rable and tumult at Glasgow in the house of Sir John Bell",<sup>99</sup> probably in response to an undated petition for damages submitted by Sir John and his son, Colin.<sup>100</sup> Neither document, however, actually mentions an Episcopalian meeting on 30 January as the cause. From Lawson we learn:

The mob, according to the statement in the letter of the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, dated 8 March, forced open the doors, broke the windows, and, if the magistrates had not interposed,

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<sup>96</sup> Wodrow, *Early Letters*, 260 (letter to Lachlan Campbell, 1 April 1703).

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 261 (letter to Laehlan Campbell, 1 April 1703).

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> "Minute Book of Privy Council, 1700-1707", meeting of 8 Mareh 1703, NAS, PC4/3.

<sup>100</sup> "Petition of Sir John Bell late Provost of Glasgow and Collin Bell his son to the Lords of Privy Councel relative to an attack made upon them in their house by a disorderly rabble who committed considerable damage and praying for redress". NAS, GD305/1/165/258.

would have committed personal violence on the principal members of the congregation.<sup>101</sup>

March 8 was a significant date, the first anniversary of the death of King William. Perhaps the arrival of the statement at Glasgow's town-house caused an agitated crowd to head the short distance down Saltmarket to Sir John Bell's lodgings. Daniel Defoe tells us that the city paid the owner of a "Jacobite conventicle or episcopal meeting", several hundred pounds for the "supposed damage" done to the house by the rabble;<sup>102</sup> the sum we actually find in the city minute book is £117 6s.<sup>103</sup>

Although evidence is inconclusive,<sup>104</sup> it does seem that, whilst Burgess's involvement in Glasgow was relatively short, the role played by Fullarton was of greater importance. Wodrow's assessment of the congregation should be noted: "30 of the 40 there wer enimies to the Government and professed Jacobites". So, although most of Glasgow's Episcopalians were Jacobite, some were not. This suggests that the assembly at Sir John Bell's lodgings was primarily Episcopalian, and only secondarily Jacobite.

Also in 1703, John Walkinshaw, son of John Walkinshaw of Barrowfield, married Katherine Paterson, daughter of Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn,<sup>105</sup> where there still stands the fine mansion built by Sir Hugh. John and Katherine would have many daughters.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Lawson, *Scottish Episcopal Church*, 196-7. The Lord Chancellor's statement has not been traced.

<sup>102</sup> D. Defoe, *Presbyterian persecution examined; with an essay on the nature and necessity of toleration in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1707), 27.

<sup>103</sup> Glasgow City Archive (C1/2/4): Glasgow Corporation minutes, 5 April 1703. "Sir John Bell's complaint to the privie counsell agt the toun whereof anc hundred and seventeen pounds, 6/- for his personall expenses and extraordinaries".

<sup>104</sup> Privy Council documents mentioned in Lawson (*Scottish Episcopal Church*, 196-7) and Gordon (*History of Glasgow*, 218, 1132) have not been found.

<sup>105</sup> *DNB*, lvi, 907-8 (Clementine Walkinshaw).

<sup>106</sup> Daughters named in Register of Testaments, 1734: John Walkinshaw, NAS CC8/8/96: Barbara, Margaret, Katherine, Anne, Betty, Mary, Jean, Helen, and Leonelly Walkinshaw.

### Before the Treaty of Union, 1706

In 1706 we again hear of Glasgow's Episcopalians from Daniel Defoe. Defoe had travelled to Edinburgh as an English government agent to report on how the proposed Treaty of Union of the parliaments was being received in Scotland. In December 1706 Glasgow was taken over by anti-Treaty rioters; dirt and stones were thrown, windows smashed, the Provost abused. Forty-five armed protesters set off for Edinburgh, although they did not get that far. Defoe is clear who should be held responsible for the unrest in Glasgow:

Jacobites, Papists, and Episcopal people, whose reputation and interest in the city of Glasgow and parts adjacent had always been but very low, and now lower than ever, so that, to effect their design, they had recourse to the policy of the times, *viz.*, deluding and imposing upon others, and this did their work; for, had they not made use of some weaker brethren, who had more influence upon the people, they had never brought it to pass.<sup>107</sup>

Defoe's analysis merits caution. Wodrow had reported only three years earlier that Glasgow's Episcopalians were numbered in tens, whilst several thousand citizens had demonstrated against them. It would indeed be a remarkable achievement if the beleaguered group described by Wodrow had been able to sway the crowd quite so successfully. Politically, however, it was very convenient both for the pro-Union lobby in Glasgow and for Defoe himself to dismiss the vehement opposition in the city to the Union<sup>108</sup> by claiming that their own opponents had manipulated the mob. Be that as it may, Glasgow's Episcopalians were held responsible.

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<sup>107</sup> D. Defoe, *The History of the Union of Great Britain* (Edinburgh, 1709), 58-59.

<sup>108</sup> Cleland, *Enumeration*, 3. "In 1708, immediately after the Union between Scotland and England, the population amounted to 12,766. The Union having been vehemently opposed in Glasgow, the Magistrates directed that an enumeration of the people should be taken, to mark the decrease which they expected would follow".

Defoe makes no mention of the fomenting skills of Episcopalians in his later description of Glasgow:

There are very few of the Episcopal dissenters here; and the mob fell upon one of their meetings so often, that they were obliged to lay it down, or, if they do meet, 'tis very privately.<sup>109</sup>

John Paterson died in Edinburgh at the end of 1708, aged 76.<sup>110</sup> Glasgow's last archbishop is the subject of much criticism,<sup>111</sup> but it does seem that for the clergy of his diocese he continued to provide a degree of episcopal oversight,<sup>112</sup> and it is not unreasonable to assume that their placement within the diocese was with his knowledge and even approval. Whilst there was no direct replacement for Paterson as bishop, episcopal oversight for the clergy in the diocese, if only by message, was provided by the surviving bishops.<sup>113</sup> These clergy were, after all, upholders of the episcopal principle and had in its support sacrificed much.

### **Paisley Abbey, 1710**

It was in about 1684 that John Fullarton became the incumbent of the first charge at Paisley.<sup>114</sup> That same year, Paisley Abbey had witnessed the marriage of Lady Jean Cochrane, the granddaughter of the covenanter William Cochrane, first Earl of Dundonald, to John Graham of Claverhouse, later Viscount Dundee.<sup>115</sup> The residence of the Earls of

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<sup>109</sup> D. Defoe, *A Tour through the whole island of Great Britain*, ed. P. Rogers. (London, 1971), 605-6 (letter 12).

<sup>110</sup> *DNB*, xliii, 20 (John Paterson).

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*; G. Lockhart, *The Lockhart Papers*, ed. A. Aufrere (London, 1817), i, 84.

<sup>112</sup> Wodrow, *Early Letters*, 250, (letter to Lachlan Campbell, 14 January 1703); *DNB*, xliii, 20 (John Paterson: "In December 1704 he accredited Robert Scott as agent for the clergy charity").

<sup>113</sup> Stephen, *History of the Church*, iv, 68.

<sup>114</sup> Bernic, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, 46.

<sup>115</sup> *DNB*, xxiii, 217 (John Graham).



Dundonald was the Place (i.e., Palace) of Paisley,<sup>116</sup> the range of domestic buildings extending from the partly-ruined abbey church. By 1710, the occupant of the Place was the fourth Earl, John Cochrane, with his young wife, Anne Murray, daughter of the Earl of Dunmore, a great beauty and, according to Wodrow, “highly praelaticall in her principles, but very devote and charitable”.<sup>117</sup> In November 1710 Anne Murray was dying from smallpox. She was just 23, the mother of four small children. Wodrow writes:

They sent for Bishop Rosse (under the notion of Dr Pitcairn) who was at her two dayes before she dyed, and Mr Fullartone and Mr Alexander Duncan with him waited on her. It's said they designed to give her the Sacrament before her death, but she was not sensible, and soe they did not doe it. The Minister of the place was never called for, and when in the house had noe access to her.<sup>118</sup>

Bishop Rosse is Alexander Rose of Edinburgh; the doctor is Archibald Pitcairne, physician and polymath, described as a “devoted if not devout Episcopalian”.<sup>119</sup>

Five years earlier, John Fullarton and John Sage - both from the pre-disestablishment Glasgow diocese - had been consecrated college bishops by Archbishop Paterson, Bishop Rose, and Bishop Douglas of Dunblane,<sup>120</sup> the first episcopal consecrations in Scotland since disestablishment. Wodrow, it seems, was unaware that Fullarton had been a bishop for some years. This accords with an anonymous document, quoted by Stephen, that Fullarton and Sage<sup>121</sup> “concealed

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<sup>116</sup> *Sir William Burrell's Northern Tour, 1758*, ed. J.G. Dunbar (East Linton, 1997), 59.

<sup>117</sup> R. Wodrow, *Analecta*, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1842-3) i, 309 (30 November 1710).

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>119</sup> *DNB*, xliv, 424 (Archibald Pitcairne).

<sup>120</sup> Stephen, *History of the Church*, iv, 8.

<sup>121</sup> Sage developed tuberculosis the following year, and died in 1711 (see Stephen, *History of the Church*, iv, 68-9).

their characters, and performed no episcopal deed, without special advice and authority from the consecrators".<sup>122</sup>

Let us return to Wodrow's account of events at Paisley after the death of Lady Dundonald:

The Sacrament was dispensed in the Abbay of Paisley to my Lord D[undonald] by Mr Fullartoun. They had sermon upon the Sabbath preceeding, as they have still had since my Lady's death, by him or some others of that gang; and for any thing I can hear, they distributed it after the English way. Some years since Mr Fullartoun was very much against English ceremonys, and for our Scots Episcopall way; but nou, it seems, he hath gote neu light. This is the first instance of the Communion at Youl soe openly celebrate in this country; and for any thing I hear, my Lord has not been at church since my Lady's death.<sup>123</sup>

It seems that Fullarton, removed from the first charge at Paisley at the Revolution, was still operating openly within the parish more than two decades later. Nearly eight years after we last heard, several Episcopal clergy were still officiating in the area, services were taking place weekly, and the Book of Common Prayer was being followed.

Wodrow's comment that this was the first Christmas Communion "soe openly celebrate in this country", suggests that local Episcopalians were known (or rumoured) to mark such days privately.

Where were the services held? The obvious location would be the St Mirin chapel, if this was the private chapel of the Place. However, if a private chapel was being used, why did Wodrow describe it as "soe openly celebrate". Robert Boog claims that Dundonald's second wife (whom he married in 1715)<sup>124</sup> had the St Mirin chapel "fitted up for the

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<sup>122</sup> Anon., "Manuscript memoirs of the Episeopal Chureh of Scotland from the memorable Revolution in 1688", in Stephen, *History of the Church*, iv, 7.

<sup>123</sup> Wodrow, *Analecta*, i, 313 (25 December 1710).

<sup>124</sup> *Debrett's Peerage of England, Scotland and Ireland* (London, 1825), ii, 758.

service of the Church of England".<sup>125</sup> There is, for this period, a lengthy gap in the clergy list for Paisley's second charge, where it seems the Dundonalds were patrons.<sup>126</sup> It looks as though the second charge in the St Mirin chapel may have continued to be Episcopalian at least until the death of the fourth Earl in 1720.

### William Cockburn's chapel, 1712

A significant event took place in Glasgow in 1712, with the opening there of an Episcopal chapel. The Act of Toleration of March 1712 had allowed Episcopalians to meet for Divine Worship, provided clergy registered their letters of orders and took the oath of allegiance.<sup>127</sup> The location of the chapel is unknown, but Wodrow, who expresses surprise at this turn of events, tells us that a house has been purchased by the Episcopalians at a cost of 2,000 merks and five guineas, and services started there on Sunday 2 November, when "Sir Donald M'Donald did collect for the poor; and this day, I hear, he and Ja[m]es Bell, and some others, were this day at prayers".<sup>128</sup>

The minister setting up "the English Liturgy at Glasgow"<sup>129</sup> was William Cockburn, the first Episcopal clergyman in the city not already ordained prior to disestablishment. He was also the first Episcopal clergyman in Glasgow prepared to qualify by taking the oath. After the oath, he had asked the Provost of Glasgow for protection, and protection was certainly required, because Wodrow tells us that before the first service:

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<sup>125</sup> R. Boog, "Account of Queen Bleary's Tomb in the abbey church of Paisley", in *Archaeologia Scotica: Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1822), ii, 457.

<sup>126</sup> Scott, *Fasti*, iii, 168-9.

<sup>127</sup> Goldie, *Short history of the Episcopal Church*, 40-2, 44 (note 1).

<sup>128</sup> R. Wodrow, *Correspondence*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1842), i, 327 (letter to John Flint, 3 November 1712).

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 326 (letter to John Flint, 31 October 1712).

Some boys in Glasgow made some abuse upon some of his people when going in; upon which they applied to the magistrates for protection, in terms of law. And yesterday, I hear, they had three town officers set to herd them and prevent disturbance.<sup>130</sup>

Wodrow is silent about the new chapel (as Cockburn himself describes it), until we reach the first Christmas to be celebrated there, falling in 1712 on a Thursday:

I was in Glasgow on 25th [December], and heard a sermon by Mr B. [James Brown?]<sup>131</sup> against holydays, from Gal[atians], iv, 10, 11.<sup>132</sup> The protected meeting did not give the Sacrament; it was once designed, but on some reasons forborne. It's not expected Mr Cockburn will have his meeting much increased if he get not in Mr Fullartoun to assist him, under scogg [protection] of his qualifying. Mr Fullartoun is the man of that party in most repute in this country; he has hitherto been averse from joining with Cockburn, but, I hear, upon the solicitations of severals, he has writt to the Bishop for his advice how to carry, and whether to join with Cockburn. The most substantial of the old Episcopal way refuse to join C[ockburn] because of the Liturgy, and others stumble at him for his qualifying, and those that are with him, particularly Sir D[onald] M'Donald, begin to weary, because of the charges they are at.<sup>133</sup>

So, it seems that not all Glasgow's Episcopalians were attracted to Cockburn's chapel. The spectrum of opinion amongst them ranges from strict Jacobites opposed to the oaths, to those prepared to accept the oaths if thereby Episcopal services may take place legitimately, and non-Jacobites for whom the oath presents no problem; and also between

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 341 (letter to John Flint, 10 November, 1712).

<sup>131</sup> Scott, *Fasti*, iii, 457-8.

<sup>132</sup> Galatians. iv, 10, 11: "Ye observe days, and months, and time, and years. I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain" (AV).

<sup>133</sup> Wodrow, *Correspondence*, i, 361-2 (letter to James Hart, 31 December 1712).



those with different views on the form Episcopal worship should take, whether retaining the practices formerly used in the Church of Scotland, or adopting English practices. Fullarton was a non-juror, but was using English ceremonies at Paisley, so it is not simply a question of qualified clergy adopting the English usage, with non-jurors retaining the Scottish. Sir Donald, clearly a Jacobite, was providing financial support for a qualified chapel. It is certainly true that a qualified incumbent might provide benefits to the wider Episcopalian community, such as baptism and marriage,<sup>134</sup> and it does not follow that the congregation of such an incumbent shared his views. Burt, for example, describes an Episcopal meeting-house (in Aberdeen in 1727) with a qualified incumbent, although the congregation was demonstrably Jacobite.<sup>135</sup>

Quite how the clergy relate to each other is a puzzle. Fullarton's consecration as bishop was, it seems, still secret, so who, if not Fullarton, was the bishop responsible for Glasgow? Was Cockburn sent to the city by this bishop, or invited there by the congregation? Bishop Rose's visit to Paisley in 1710 may provide an answer.

Cockburn was operating in uncharted waters with regard to what he would or would not be allowed to do in Glasgow. Wodrow records that:

Upon the 29th [December], there was a soldier buried in the High Churchyard with the English Service. This is the first say-hand [essay, or trial of the thing]. All the officers were there; and Mr C[ockburn] put on his gown at the entry of the churchyard, and ventured not up the street with it; and prayers began, and all the company were discovered [uncovered] from their entry into the churchyard, where were many spectators, but no rabble nor opposition. It's a question here if the Toleration Act allows the protected to bury *à la mode d'Angleterre*.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>134</sup> J. Skinner, *An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland* (London, 1788), ii, 610.

<sup>135</sup> *Burt's letters from the North of Scotland, 1754*, ed. A. Simmons (Edinburgh, 1998), 116, Letter xi.

<sup>136</sup> Wodrow, *Correspondence*, i, 362 (letter to John Flint, 31 December 1712).

The magistrates later ruled that they “will allow of no more burials after the English fashion”.<sup>137</sup>

Another month went by, and Cockburn and his congregation reached the anniversary of the execution of Charles I. Again, a special service was held. We know more about this particular event because Cockburn’s sermon was printed;<sup>138</sup> his text was Genesis, xlix, 5-7.<sup>139</sup> In an introduction to the sermon, Cockburn provides a list of members of his congregation (see Table 2).

The list follows rules of precedence, starting with the titled and landed families, much interconnected through marriage, as was Glasgow’s ebullient merchant class. The Bells, for example, are connected through marriage to the Campbells, the Colquhouns and the Herbistons.<sup>140</sup> John Barns had been Provost twice in the 1680s, after Sir John Bell.<sup>141</sup> Sir John’s brother was James Bell; the two had ridden through to Fife with John Barns to the burial of the Archbishop of St Andrews,<sup>142</sup> at which Paterson had been the preacher.<sup>143</sup> From Wodrow we also hear of a shoemaker named Wardrope, an Episcopalian although his wife was not.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 405 (letter to James Hart, 10 February 1713).

<sup>138</sup> W. Cockburn: A Sermon upon the 30th January 1713, being the anniversary fast for the martyrdom of the blessed King Charles the First, preached at Glasgow (Edinburgh, 1713), Glasgow University Library.

<sup>139</sup> Genesis, xlix, 5-7: “Simeon and Levi are brethren: instruments of cruelty are in their habitations. O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine Honour, be not thou united: for in their anger they slew a man, and in their self-will they digged down a wall. Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce, and their wrath, for it was cruel” (AV).

<sup>140</sup> McUre, *History of Glasgow*, 113.

<sup>141</sup> Cleland, *Annals*, i, 166.

<sup>142</sup> *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1905), iii, 413, 8 September 1688. If this was Alexander Burnet’s funeral (Burnet had died in 1684), reimbursement was rather slow.

<sup>143</sup> *DNB*, viii, 903 (Alexander Burnet).

<sup>144</sup> Wodrow, *Correspondence*, i, 400 (letter to John Williamson, 6 February 1713).

**Table 2: Male members of the Episcopal congregation in Glasgow, 1713***(Cockburn's order)*

Hon. Mr Charles Maitland	Hon. Mr William Cochran of Kilmarnock
Hon. Sir Donald McDonald of Slate	James Stirling of Keir
William Stirling of Northside	Robert Grahame of Gartmore
Laurence Crawford of Jordanhill	John Walkinshaw of Barrowfield [junior]
John Crawford of Jordanhill, advocate	John Walkinshaw of Scotstoun junior
James Bell of Hamilton's Farm	Patrick Bell of Eastfield
Dr William Wright of Faskin	Captain Robert Walkinshaw
James Colquhoun of Langlon	John Gibson of Barsegere
Rev Mr Alexander Duncan,	Lieutenant John Campbel
Minister of the Gospel	John Barns, late Provost of Glasgow
John Herbiston, merchant	James Fogo, merchant

*and other members of the Episcopal congregation at Glasgow*

Nearly a quarter of a century has elapsed since the service held at the cathedral, and yet several of the individuals or families present in 1689 are still associated with the Episcopal congregation. Whilst Fullarton is omitted from the list, Alexander Duncan is included, and his non-juror credentials were beyond question. Indeed, including Duncan in the list is a pretty emphatic declaration of his standing within the Episcopalian community. This is not lost on Wodrow:

When I am in Glasgow, I cannot but acquaint you that this last post I have Mr Cockburn's sermon on Jan. 30 in print. It is wanton enough that he publicly sets down the Rev. Mr A. Duncan, minister, as one of the members of his congregation, who, I dare say, joins in none of the offices for the Queen nor successor. I would name you two or three others, Kilmarnock and Jordanhill, that are no more members of his meeting than you are.<sup>145</sup>

Wodrow's *caveat* about the Crawfurds of Jordanhill is intriguing, because the family had close links with Kilbirnie, Duncan's parish prior

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 404 (letter to James Hart, 10 February, 1713).

to disestablishment.<sup>146</sup> The laird of Kilbirnie, a great supporter of the Revolution, was a Crawford.<sup>147</sup>

Wodrow includes some fairly uncharitable gossip about Episcopalians; in one such story Cockburn loses his temper and swears when hounded by street children, who cry "A-men!" after him when he crosses to the Gorbals to baptise the child of a soldier.<sup>148</sup> With Easter approaching, Wodrow reports first that an altar is set up in the chapel, then that the congregation is divided over whether Cockburn or Duncan should consecrate the elements.<sup>149</sup>

We have a great many stories anent Cockburn's communion upon Easter, which I jealouse [suspect] may be too true. They talk that Sir Donald took up several of his Highlanders in their habits, in case of any attack upon the protected meeting that day; and though they understood not a word of the language, and, perhaps, as little of the ordinance, yet they were permitted to participate. They came down after the public work was over to an inn, and there drank ale and brandy, how deep I shall not say, but they had time enough, for they were in the alchouse from four of the clock till after ten. An odd conclusion to a Sabbath and Communicating.

You know the debate between Cockburn and Duncan issued in Duncan's going out of town on Saturday; and it seems since he got not the Elements to consecrate, he would not Communicate with them.

I find it is very ordinary for those of Mr Cockburn's meeting to spend a good part of the Sabbath evening at cards.<sup>150</sup>

No further light is shed on what appears to be a serious division in the congregation. To where might Duncan, and presumably his followers.

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<sup>146</sup> Bernie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, 36.

<sup>147</sup> J. Paterson, *History of the county of Ayr* (Edinburgh, 1852), ii, 116.

<sup>148</sup> Wodrow, *Correspondence*, i, 431-2 (letter to John Williamson, 19 March 1713).

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 437 (letter to James Hart, 2 April 1713).

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 442 (letter to John Williamson, 21 April 1713).



have gone? Perhaps they made for one of the Jacobite households – or to Paisley. When Wodrow writes that Fullarton preached occasionally “in a private house near Glasgow, Barrfield”, he is referring, presumably, to Barrowfield.<sup>151</sup>

Sixteen months pass, and then Wodrow resumes the story:

You will probably expect an account of the rabble who pulled down Mr Cockburn’s meeting-house at Glasgow on the 6th or 7th of this month .... Mr Cockburn tempted people to attack his meeting-house. Upon the day before the rabble, he caused bring away his canonical gown, prayer-book, and Bible, and that so publicly, as it might be noticed and observed; and, as it were, displenished his nest, that people might be invited to take it down, and that night took horse pretty late and left the place.<sup>152</sup>

The first of the Hanoverian kings, George I, had succeeded to the throne, on 1 August 1714, on the death of Queen Anne.<sup>153</sup> It would take a few days for the news to reach Glasgow, so it seems that this news precipitated the destruction of the chapel. The destruction of the chapel could be more easily understood if its incumbent had not been qualified, which suggests that Cockburn’s acceptance of Anne was not going to extend to the new king.

Preserved amongst Wodrow’s papers was an eleven-verse ballad called “The downfall of Cockburn’s Meeting-House” including lines such as “the pulpit gown was pulled down”, “the pulpit cloth was rent,” “the chess-windows they were broke,” and with references to French plots, the advance of the Whigs, Cockburn and his wife fleeing to Stirling “to get poor Jamie home”, before referring to Sir Donald McDonald as “a Highlander whose name stinks,” and ending with “Amen, so let it be”. The contents of the verses match the information

<sup>151</sup> Wodrow, *Correspondence*, i, 438 (letter to James Hart, 2 April, 1713).

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 563-4 (letter to James Hart, 26 August 1714).

<sup>153</sup> *DNB*, xxi, 809 (George I).

in Wodrow's writings so closely, that it is difficult to believe anyone other than he is the author.<sup>154</sup>

In September 1715, Wodrow records that the Jacobites were preparing for conflict, with Barrowfield buying 30 horses at local fairs, then that Barrowfield, Northside, and Kerr [Keir] had joined the rebels with the Earl of Mar at Perth<sup>155</sup> (the Earl's sister was married to Lady Barrowfield's brother).<sup>156</sup> The defining engagement of the first Jacobite rebellion took place on 13 November at Sheriffmuir,<sup>157</sup> 35 miles north of Glasgow. Glasgow raised a regiment of 500 in support of the Hanoverian side, led by John Aird,<sup>158</sup> the Provost abused in 1706 by the anti-Treaty rioters.<sup>159</sup>

Glasgow's Episcopalian Jacobites fought for the Old Pretender. Sir Donald McDonald was there with 700 clansmen,<sup>160</sup> afterwards he led them back home to the Isles before escaping to France; Sir Donald died in 1718.<sup>161</sup> John Walkinshaw of Scotstoun was attainted by Act of Parliament and fled the country, losing his estates.<sup>162</sup> John Walkinshaw of Barrowfield was taken prisoner at Sheriffmuir,<sup>163</sup> escaping from Stirling Castle, it seems, by exchanging clothes with his wife.<sup>164</sup>

Episcopal clergy were certainly involved in the revolt, although one Glasgow newspaper observed early in 1716 that "the Pretender since he

<sup>154</sup> *A new book of old ballads*, ed. J. Maidment (Edinburgh, 1885), 64-67.

<sup>155</sup> Wodrow, *Correspondence*, ii, 71, 74 (letter to Robert Black, 21 September 1715).

<sup>156</sup> *The House of Commons, 1690-1715*, ed. E. Cruickshanks *et al.* (London, 2002), v (Members O-Z), 111.

<sup>157</sup> J. L. Roberts, *The Jacobite Wars* (Edinburgh, 2002), 43-47.

<sup>158</sup> J. Pagan, *Sketch of the history of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1847), 59-62.

<sup>159</sup> D. Defoe, *History of the Union*, 61.

<sup>160</sup> Roberts, *Jacobite Wars*, 42; R. Patten, *The history of the Rebellion in 1715* (London, 1745), 150; A Laing, *The Donean Tourist* (Aberdeen, 1828), 458.

<sup>161</sup> H. Lee, *History of the Clan Donal* (New York, 1920), 55.

<sup>162</sup> J.G. Smith & J.O. Mitchell, *The old country houses of the old Glasgow gentry* (Glasgow, 1878), 227.

<sup>163</sup> Patten, *History of the Rebellion*, 42, 156, 230.

<sup>164</sup> Smith & Mitchell, *Old country houses*, 261-2.

came heard not one Episcopal minister preach, pray, or ask a blessing".<sup>165</sup> Although in the ballad Cockburn heads for Stirling "to get poor Jamie home", nothing has been found to link him or Duncan to the rebels. A list of "suspected persons" compiled by the Government does, however, include a certain "Mr John Fullerton of Greenhall".<sup>166</sup>

### Mr Wingate's meeting-house, 1728

William Cockburn reappears in 1716 at a meeting-house in Edinburgh, one of a group of Episcopal clergy put on trial for failing to present letters of Orders or praying for King George.<sup>167</sup> Cockburn is said to have carried out a clandestine marriage ceremony in Paisley in 1724, the bride a Dundonald.<sup>168</sup> Keir managed to elude capture until 1727, having been "skulking since the Rebellion, and overlooked by the Government, though attained".<sup>169</sup> Meanwhile John Walkinshaw of Barrowfield spent some time travelling on the Continent acting as an envoy for the Old Pretender, taking part in negotiations in Vienna for his marriage to Princess Maria Klementyna Sobieska.<sup>170</sup> Walkinshaw

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<sup>165</sup> *West Country Intelligence*, 2-4 February, 1716.

<sup>166</sup> Patten, *History of the Rebellion*, 140-142. Other congregation members in the "suspected persons" list are Sir Donald McDonald, James Stirling of Keir, John Walkinshaw of Barrowfield, and his wife's brother, the second Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn.

<sup>167</sup> T.B. Howell, *A complete collection of state trials* (London, 1816), xviii, 1364, 1381, 1384.

<sup>168</sup> The event would change marriage laws in England. *Cases decided in the House of Lords, on appeal from the courts of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1830), vii, 135-141; L. Leneman, "The Scottish case that led to Hardwicke's Marriage Act", in *Law and History Review* (1999), xvii, 161-70.

<sup>169</sup> Wodrow, *Analecta*, iii, 436 (19 August 1727).

<sup>170</sup> P. Pininski, *The Stuart's Last Secret* (London, 2002), 10; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Stuart Papers belonging to His Majesty the King preserved at Windsor Castle* (London, 1904, 1907), ii and iii, chronicle John Walkinshaw of Barrowfield's service to the exiled Stuart court.

would name his youngest daughter, Clementina.<sup>171</sup> The singular contribution to the Jacobite story made after her father's death by Clementina Walkinshaw has been well covered elsewhere.

In 1721 we hear a tale showing that Duncan's Jacobite zeal had not waned: according to Wodrow, Duncan refused the sacrament to a dying English soldier because the soldier failed to acknowledge the sinful nature of his allegiance to George I.<sup>172</sup> When Fullarton was elected Bishop of Edinburgh in 1720, he travelled there from Paisley.<sup>173</sup> Fullarton died in 1727 aged 87,<sup>174</sup> a few weeks before George I.<sup>175</sup> Then, in August 1728 Wodrow announces that the Episcopalians have fitted out a rented house in Broad Close, opposite the university, with services being led by a non-juror called Wingate, "who prayes not for the King. Northside, Richard Graham, Barrowfeild, Keir, and others, contribute to it, and the collections go to the preacher". Wodrow continues:

Some Sabbaths they preached, and a mobb was threatned; upon which the magistrates sent for Wingat, and threatned him. Mr A. Duncan took it up, and B[ailey] Murdoch warned him of his danger. He was very uppish, and said he would continou; and ther wer ministers that had not taken the oaths. The Bailey said ther wer none such in the toun, and if ther wer elsewhere they prayed for the King; and said he would put a padlock on the dore. Mr Duncan said he would take it off again.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> Clementina's sister would join the Hanoverian court: Catherine Walkinshaw was, for many years, a member of the household of Princess Augusta of Wales (George II's daughter-in-law), a seamstress in 1736, and from 1767 a woman of the bedchamber (see, on-line: Sir John Sainty, *Office-holders in Modern Britain* at [www.history.ac.uk/resources/office/augusta](http://www.history.ac.uk/resources/office/augusta)).

<sup>172</sup> Wodrow, *Analecta*, ii, 347-8 (April, 1721).

<sup>173</sup> Stephen, *History of the Church*, iv, 162.

<sup>174</sup> Bernie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, 46.

<sup>175</sup> *DNB*, xxi, 819 (George I).

<sup>176</sup> Wodrow, *Analecta*, iv, 8-9 (August 1728).



Wodrow, it seems, is unaware that Duncan, now 73, has been a bishop for four years.<sup>177</sup> The magistrates warn Duncan and Wingate that the penalty for flouting the legislation was six months in prison.<sup>178</sup> Wodrow observes that:

A privat house would hold them all, but they incline to make an appearance; and a meeting-house at Glasgou makes a great noise indeed, and strenthens their party and interest. These two or three years there have been strong efforts used to have publick meeting-houses set up in the West and South of Scotland, where the greatest opposition was formerly made to Episcopacy; and this, no doubt, makes a great dash abroad, wher things are magnified.<sup>179</sup>

It is worth noting that this time the meeting-house was not actually destroyed by the mob, but sealed by the magistrates who, whilst insisting that the law be implemented, seem careful to avoid its sanctions. We later learn that, after pressure from the magistrates, Wingate was sent away. Duncan although by now "old and failed" was quite willing to preach, but dare not in the meeting-house.<sup>180</sup> Wodrow's observation about the opening of other meeting-houses is intriguing; elsewhere he mentions a frustrated attempt to set up just such a meeting-house at Ayr.<sup>181</sup> Wodrow writes that:

When the Jacobites see they can do no better, they resolve to take up with the English Service at any rate, and so nou the generality of

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<sup>177</sup> Duncan was consecrated bishop on 25 July 1724 by bishops John Fullarton, William Irvine, Arthur Millar, and David Freebairn (Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, 36-7).

<sup>178</sup> Wodrow, *Analecta*, iv, 8-9 (August 1728); Goldie, *Short history of the Episcopal Church*, 44. The 1719 Abjuration Act limited the size of an unqualified Episcopal meeting to nine.

<sup>179</sup> Wodrow, *Analecta*, iv, 8-9 (August 1728).

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 19 (December 1728).

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, 413 (April 1727).

such who would not joyn with Presbiterians, R. Graham, and others, who incline to the English Service, and do not pretend to Jacobitisme, go to the chaplain of the souldiers, the English regiment now in Glasgou, and the Jacobites also are going thither, and such who wer reconed so: Barroufeild and his family, Keir and his family, Northside and his family, with others who winter in toun.<sup>182</sup>

It seems that even Glasgow's Jacobite families welcomed the opportunity to take part in public worship. Indeed, it must have been quite perplexing and frustrating for Episcopalians that a form of worship could take place perfectly legally in one part of the city, whilst the same form of worship with no more than a few words omitted was forbidden.

By January 1729, Wodrow reports that "Mr Alexander Duncan preaches to a feu of the upright, stiff Jacobites (who will not joyn in places wher the King is prayed for) in his oun house. The rest they go to the English Service, by the English regiment minister".<sup>183</sup> Cleland tells us that in Duncan's time the congregation met in a dwelling-house in Bell Street.<sup>184</sup> Later in 1729 Bishop Duncan baptised the newborn son of a later Lady Dundonald, Catharine, daughter of Lord Basil Hamilton of Baldoon. As Wodrow notes, "Our familys of rank, many of them, are like to continou in their disaffection to this Established church. The Lord give a better temper and spirit".<sup>185</sup> The boy would, as the 7th Earl, support the Hanoverian side in the 1745 uprising.<sup>186</sup>

By the late 1720s Glasgow's Episcopalian congregation seems to be quite small. However, we next learn of them from an unlikely source: the deposition of Archibald Buchanan, who, in 1732, makes a bequest of £3 sterling "to the poor of the Episcopal meeting-house in Glasgow kept by

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<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 19 (December 1728).

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 26 (January 1729).

<sup>184</sup> Cleland, *Annals*, 139.

<sup>185</sup> Wodrow, *Analecta*, iv, 84 (16 October 1729).

<sup>186</sup> W. Anderson, *The Scottish Nation*, 9 vols. (Edinburgh, 1867), ii, 101.

Mr Alexander Duncan".<sup>187</sup> Buchanan was a member of a great merchant family at the top of politics in the city.<sup>188</sup> Does he refer to Duncan's house-church, or is the meeting-house back in operation? We saw Sir Donald McDonald collecting for the poor back in 1712; Buchanan provides a reminder that, whilst the documentation concentrates on men of substance, not all Glasgow's Episcopalians were affluent.

John Walkinshaw of Barrowfield had died in 1731; in noting this, Wodrow writes that he had been "a violent Jacobite, engaged in the Rebellion", before adding the unexpected comment "and a person of considerable sense".<sup>189</sup> Lady Barrowfield would outlive her husband by nearly half a century, dying at Edinburgh in 1780 at the remarkable age of 97.<sup>190</sup> Bishop Duncan was to die in 1733,<sup>191</sup> his will showing him much in debt to the Duke of Montrose.<sup>192</sup> If Cleland is correct, the congregation would then have to wait for seven years before the next Episcopal minister, George Graham, arrived in Glasgow.<sup>193</sup> It would be wrong, however, to conclude that Glasgow's Episcopalians were finally dying out; because in 1749 a petition for a qualified chapel claimed the support of 150 Episcopalian families.<sup>194</sup>

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<sup>187</sup> Deposition of Archibald Buchanan, Glasgow City Archives (TD1022/11/4762).

<sup>188</sup> J. Burke & J.B. Burke, *Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry* (London, 1847), i, 153; Cleland, *Annals*, i, 172.

<sup>189</sup> Wodrow, *Analecta*, iv, 217 (18 March, 1731).

<sup>190</sup> *Glasgow Mercury*, 23-30 November, 1780; "This remarkable woman, *splendide mendax*, *et in omne aevum nobilis* [gloriously false to her promise and illustrious for ever], lived to the age of ninety, in the full possession of her faculties, and of the esteem of all who knew her". (A.F.T. Woodhouselee, *Memoirs of Henry Home of Kames*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1814), i, 2. Woodhouselee's niece would marry Sir Archibald Alison.).

<sup>191</sup> Bernie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, 37.

<sup>192</sup> Register of Testaments, 1735: Alexander Duncan, NAS CC9/7/54/563.

<sup>193</sup> Cleland, *Annals*, i, 139-40.

<sup>194</sup> "To the Rev. Father in God, Lord Bishop of York, The petition of the disconsolat members of the Church of England now dwelling in the city of

## Conclusions

The paucity of surviving records for Glasgow's early Episcopalians may have a number of causes other than an absence of Episcopalians. As Wodrow puts it, "the greatest opposition was formerly made to Episcopacy" in the West and South of Scotland.<sup>195</sup> The terror experienced by Glasgow's Episcopalians early in 1689 must have had some effect on them, both individually and collectively, making them cautious, a caution extended each time another riot took place. But Episcopalians there certainly were, including families with important connections. The significant involvement by sections of the congregation in Jacobite intrigue, and their direct links with the exiled Stuart court, so at variance with the Hanoverian consensus in the city, provided further grounds for discretion. It would be understandable if, later in the eighteenth century, the congregation saw fit to distance itself from the Walkinshaw connection.

James Gordon's conclusions have become the accepted view of Glasgow's early Episcopalians, but his conclusions should be questioned. The continuity and cohesion of the congregation and its clerical and episcopal oversight were much greater than Gordon assumed. Indeed, Gordon's very connection with Glasgow's qualified Episcopal chapel may explain his underestimate of the nature of Episcopalianism in the city before his chapel was built in 1750.

I would therefore like to provide my own summary of Glasgow's early Episcopalians: At disestablishment in 1689, Glasgow's Episcopalians were numbered in hundreds, and included a network of well-connected families. The community, which embraced both Jacobite and non-Jacobite members, was subject from the outset to fierce local opposition and repeated attack. Forced to meet very privately, this was for much of the time an underground church.

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Glasgow, North Britain" (4 August 1749). in J. Wilkinson. *Centenary Souvenir of St. Andrew's Church, Glasgow Green* (Glasgow, 1905). 15.

<sup>195</sup> Wodrow, *Analecta*, iv, 8-9 (August 1728).



By the beginning of the eighteenth century, several clergy were operating in the area, providing regular services in Glasgow and Paisley. Most notable is the non-juror John Fullarton, based at Paisley, and a bishop from 1705, three years before the death of Glasgow's last archbishop. Another non-juror, Alexander Duncan, was active by 1710. The clear links between all the identified Episcopal clergy suggest a degree of organisation, continuity and strategy.

A relaxation of the law in 1712 made it possible for a qualified Episcopal minister, William Cockburn, to open a meeting-house in Glasgow. The non-juror Duncan was, however, acknowledged as part of the congregation. This meeting-house was destroyed in 1714, a few days after the accession of George I.

Several members of the congregation took part in the first Jacobite rebellion, and close links with the Old Pretender continued. After the uprising, Duncan remained in Glasgow, a bishop from 1724, operating within the constraints of the Abjuration Act. Another meeting-house, opened by a Mr Wingate near the university the year after George I's death, was closed by magistrates, with services continuing in Bishop Duncan's house; Episcopalians would also take advantage of services led by the chaplains to English regiments. By the 1730s the reduced Episcopal congregation was still able to claim links back to Glasgow Cathedral before disestablishment.

# The Downfall of Cockburn's Meeting House

*Tune: Come Sit Thee Down my Phillis*

We have not yet forgot, Sir,  
How Cockburn's kirk was broke, Sir;  
The pulpit gown was pulled down,  
And turned into nought, Sir.

The pulpit cloth was rent, Sir,  
Unto the Cross was sent, Sir;  
The boys that did convoy it  
Were into prison put, Sir.

The chess-windows they were broke, Sir,  
Out o'er the window cast, Sir;  
With a convoy of *holo hoi*,  
Unto the streets were sent, Sir.

The French are disappointed,  
Their wicked plots disjointed;  
Poor Cockburn he's affronted,  
But the Whiggs they're advanced.

Long necked Peggie H[ome], Sir,  
Did weep and stay at home, Sir;  
'Cause poor Cockburn and his wife  
Were forc'd to flee the town, Sir.

And after they were gone, Sir,  
They went to Stirling town, Sir;  
They thought with their heart and mind  
To get poor Jamie home, Sir.

But they were disappointed,  
And their wicked plots disjointed;  
We'll make them all run and cry,  
Oh! we're disappointed.

Their Highland king for fear, Sir,  
Was put in such a steer, Sir;  
We made his breeks have such stink,  
That none could him come near, Sir.

Macdonald is his name, Sir,  
Of him you may think shame, Sir;  
A Highlander whose name stinks,  
You popish rogue go home, Sir.

The chess-window did reel, Sir,  
Like to a spinning wheel, Sir;  
For Dagon he is fall'n now,  
I hope he'll never rise, Sir.

Some say thir lines were compos'd,  
By boys in grammar school, Sir;  
What they've said, they are ador'd;  
Amen, so let it be, Sir.<sup>196</sup>

*Cathedral Church of St Mary the Virgin  
Glasgow*

<sup>196</sup> *Old Ballads*, ed. Maidment, 64-7.